on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods." [80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki*.

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30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

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On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona, Waki Otona,* and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

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1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

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5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran. . . .*

[P. 46(A)]

As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.[34]

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.
2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.
3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.
4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804 [35]

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.[36] On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

[34] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

[35] *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

[36] "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020–1021.

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

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can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

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the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.[50] It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

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Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was disgraceful to the EZO.

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyuuei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568–569.

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[50] Refer to Etorofu Omusha moshiwatashi no koto (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.